

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Reporting Office <b>NEW YORK</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>6/13/60</b>	Investigative Period <b>5/31-6/7/60</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>MICHAEL KIRCHWEY CLARK, aka Rufus Baxter Applicant International Labor Organization Geneva, Switzerland</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>LOYALTY OF EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS</b>	
		Typed By <b>mzg</b> b6 b7C	

~~SECRET~~ CLASS. & EXT. BY **SP-9 GSK/RSK/RLS**

REASON-FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2 233

DATE OF REVIEW **11/11/91**

## REFERENCES

Report of SA [redacted] at NY,  
dated 5/27/60.

St. Louis airtel to Bureau, dated 5/25/60.  
NY airtel to New Haven, dated 5/31/60.  
WFO airtel to Bureau, dated 6/2/60.  
NY airtel to New Haven, dated 6/7/60.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE **5/11-81**

CC TO: *State (East-west)*  
REQ. REC'D **11-2-61**  
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ANS.  
BY: *Ads - [signature]*

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Approved <i>[signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge <i>[signature]</i>	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: <b>6</b> Bureau (138-4467) (RM) <b>1</b> New York (138-3437) <b>CC 10:</b>		<b>138-4467-35</b>	<b>REC-34</b>
<b>6-21-60</b> <b>3cc CSC</b> <b>cc [unclear]</b> <b>WWS</b>		<b>JUN 14 1960</b>	<b>EX-100</b>
			<b>REC-98</b>

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**EMP/SEC. SECT.**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]

Office: New York

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Date: June 13, 1960

File Number: New York 138-3437

Bureau 138-4467

Title: MICHAEL KIRCHWEY CLARK  
Applicant  
International Labor Organization  
Geneva, Switzerland

## Character:

LOYALTY OF EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER PUBLIC  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## Synopsis:

EVANS CLARK, applicant's father, member of Staff of Russian Soviet Government Bureau, 1919-1920; and name linked with several organizations cited by the HCUA or designated by the Attorney General of the United States under Executive Order 10450. FRED A KIRCHWEY, applicant's mother, former publisher and editor of "The Nation," connected with a number of organizations cited by the HCUA or designated by Attorney General under Executive Order 10450. Social acquaintance of applicant's parents in 1955, described by confidential informant as "No. 1 pro-Communist" on the "New York Times." References, LEWIS STILES GANNETT and FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, connected with a number of organizations cited by the HCUA or designated by the Attorney General under Executive Order 10450. Confidential informants familiar with some phases of CP activities in the NYC area, advised in June, 1960, they do not know applicant or his parents. Applicant registered preference for ALP in 1941.

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REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/11/94

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Page 475 of this report reflects an exhibit bearing the caption "These Eminent Americans Ask Your Help on Behalf of the Russian People" "New York Times" issue of October 10, 1941. Included in a list of names was one LEWIS GANNETT, Literary Critic. Page 764 of this report reflects that one LEWIS S. GANNETT had served as director and officer of the Garland Fund.

Page 771 of this report reflects that page 79 of the November, 1937, issue of "Soviet Russia Today" under the caption "I hereby inscribe my name in greetings to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic" appears the name LEWIS S. GANNETT.

Page 1356 of this report reflects that LEWIS GANNETT, Literary Editor, "New York Herald Tribune" was one of a number of signers of a letter which was addressed to the President and published in the "New Masses" issue of April 2, 1940, page 21. This letter to the President protested what was described as the "badgering of Communist leaders."

(On March 16, 1953, New York T-10 advised that LEWIS GANNETT, a book review editor, "New York Herald Tribune", was a trustee of the Garland Fund which was "the first big tap levied by the Communist Party on trust funds." According to New York T-10, the trustees of this fund dispersed it to the CP and CP fronts.

The applicant's undated Identification and Personnel Data For Employment of United States Citizen form lists one Dr. FRANK GRAHAM, United Nations, New York, New York, as a reference.

On June 9, 1960, Mr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, Mediator, India-Pakistan, United Nations, New York, New York, advised SA [ ] that he has known the applicant for about 25 years. He said that he first met Mr. CLARK when he was a student at the University of North Carolina, where he, Mr. GRAHAM, was a professor and subsequently President. He said that this original association was limited to a student-professor relationship, and that Mr. CLARK was only a student for one year, later matriculating at Harvard University.

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He said that he has since seen a good deal of Mr. CLARK, on a social level, and has become friendly with his parents as well. Mr. GRAHAM stated that the applicant is a man of good character, personal habits and moral conduct. He said he is devoted to his wife and children.

Mr. GRAHAM said, that in his opinion, there is no question as to the loyalty of the applicant. He said that he bases this opinion on discussions, the applicant's parents, his writings, and his stand on the French-Algerian dispute in which dispute he supported the French position. He said that Mr. CLARK is strong-minded, forms his own opinions, is not swayed or influenced by others (including his parents) and sticks to his opinion even if it is not popular (eg - siding with Britain in British-Iranian oil dispute, while in Iran). He said that Mr. CLARK, has never, to his knowledge, joined any organizations of a questionable nature. He said that, although Mr. CLARK could have joined such organizations while an immature youth, he now "knows what the score is" and would not join any such organization. He said that he is confident that Mr. CLARK and his parents are completely loyal to this country.

Mr. GRAHAM said that Mr. CLARK has traveled extensively, because of his position as a reporter for the "New York Times". He said that his wife is French and that is the reason Mr. CLARK is trying to get a position in France or Switzerland. He said that he personally recommended Mr. CLARK to the director of the International Labor Organization (ILO) for the position for which he is being considered. He said that he knows that Mr. CLARK is a competent reporter; that he made a favorable impression on the Director of the ILO and that his assignment will be in the writing field. He said he would recommend Mr. CLARK most highly and without any reservations.

The 1954-1955 edition of Who's Who in American reflects that FRANK PORTER GRAHAM was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1909, and among other occupations became president of North Carolina University in 1930; United States representative on Good Offices Committee of the Security Council of the United Nations on Indonesia, 1947-1948; special advisor to the United States Secretary of State on Indonesian Affairs, 1948;

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was appointed United States Senator from North Carolina and served as such in 1949 and 1950; served as a member of the President's Committee on Education in 1945; served as a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1946, and served as First President, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies from 1946 to 1949. Who's Who further reflects that GRAHAM has served as the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan since 1951.

The Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, Second Session, Appendix Part IX, reflects the following concerning FRANK P. GRAHAM.

Page 328 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM of the University of North Carolina as a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (ACDIF) as it appeared in the "Daily Worker" of March 18, 1939, page two, under the caption "Scientists in Drive for Democracy."

Page 330 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina as a member of the Executive Committee of the ACDIF.

Page 335 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a National Committeeman of the ACDIF.

Page 336 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina, as a member of the National Executive Committee of the ACDIF.

Page 349 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFPB).

The ACPFB has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Page 354 reflects one Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as a sponsor of the Fifth National Conference of the ACPFB.

Page 380 reflects one President FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the Committee of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy (AFSD).

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Page 381 reflects one President, FRANK P. GRAHAM as a member of the Committee of the AFSD.

Page 382 reflects that "New Masses," of January 5, 1937, page 31, indicates one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the AFSD.

Page 475 reflects that the "New York Times," of October 10, 1941, published an article entitled "These Eminent Americans Ask Your Help on Behalf of the Russian People." Among those listed was one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

Page 621 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, as one of the Educators among the Prominent Americans Who Favor Presidential Clemency for the Release of EARL BROWDER.

The New York "Herald Tribune", October 1, 1952, refers to EARL BROWDER as the General Secretary of the CP from 1930-1944.

An article by LOUIS BUDENZ in the "Daily Worker" of May 23, 1944, page two, reflects that EARL BROWDER was elected President of the Communist Political Association on May 22, 1944.

The Communist Political Association has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Page 675 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the Council of Young Southerners, "Stay South, Young Man."

Page 840 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina and Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as one of those who sent greetings and/or messages wishing success for the National Conference of the International Labor Defense, held in Washington, D. C., July 8 and July 9, 1939.

The International Labor Defense has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Page 965 reflects ~~one~~ President FRANK P. GRAHAM, University of North Carolina as one of those sending messages of support and good wishes to the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain, which organized a two day "Conference to Lift the Embargo" and convened in Washington, D. C., November 19 and November 20, 1938.

Page 1037 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the League of Young Southerners, August 13, 1940.

Page 1168 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Page 1213 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as the signer of an open letter about "Alien Baiting" which was issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Page 1215 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a signer of "A Warning to America" issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Page 1585 reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, Honorary Chairman, as an officer of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, from an official report of the organization.

Page 1592 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, as one of the general officers who compose the Executive Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938-1939.

Page 1597 reflects a Conference Program "Democracy in the South" Sunday, April 14, 1940, listing one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina, Co-Chairman on "The Meaning of Religion for Democracy."

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Page 1598 reflects a Third Meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare "The South's Part in Winning the War for Democracy" was to be held on Sunday, April 19, 1942. One of the addresses to be given at the meeting was by a Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President, University of North Carolina.

Page 1599 reflects the program for Monday, April 20, 1942, of the above-mentioned conference, it was noted one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM was Chairman of Panel One, "Industrial Production."

Page 1604 reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as one of the sponsors of a dinner celebrating the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Red Army under the auspices of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today."

The Congressional Record Index, volume 87, part 15, 77th Congress, First Session, page 3128 reflects that Congressman PLOESER from Missouri on April 15, 1941, addressed the House of Representatives and expressed his inability to understand why certain men were selected for membership on the "Super-Mediation Board," which had recently been created by the President of the United States. He was particularly concerned with the appointment of Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, who was to represent the public in the settlement of labor controversies. Congressman PLOESER referred to a book entitled "The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee," published by the Constitutional Educational League of New Haven, Connecticut, which he said on pages 20 and 21 reflected that Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM, President of the University of North Carolina was once a board member of Soviet Russia's State University of Moscow Summer School for training American students in Communism. The book further stated that GRAHAM had served as President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which had been identified by EARL BROWDER before the Dies Committee as a "Transmission Belt" for Communist propaganda.

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Congressman PLOESER remarked that if GRAHAM was an important factor in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and had served as a board member of the University of Moscow Summer School for training American students in Communism, he was not the man to represent the public on the "Super-Mediation Board."

Page 10 of House Report 2277, Special Report on Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government, June 25, 1942, reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, as being affiliated with five other agencies and fronts of the CP.

Page 15 of the above-mentioned report reflects one FRANK P. GRAHAM, a sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action was a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy (ALPD).

The ALPD has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Page 3190 of the testimony of [redacted] on March 30, 1943, Executive Hearings, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, discloses exhibit thirteen to be a list of sponsors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Fourth Annual the Conference which was being held at Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D.C., on March 2 and March 3, 1940. b6 b7c

Page 3325 of the testimony of [redacted] at a hearing before the Un-American Activities Committee on October 27, 1950, reflects one Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as a sponsor of a dinner celebrating the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Red Army on February 22, 1943, in New York City. b6 b7c

Page two of International Communism (Communist Design on Indonesia and the Pacific Frontier) before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 85th Congress, first session, December 16, 1957, indicates "The Communist Party theoretical monthly 'Political Affairs', September, 1947, laid down the official American Communist

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policy on Indonesia one year before a United Nations Commission, headed by Mr. GRAHAM, began to operate. The U.N.C.I. appeared to follow the 'Political Affairs' piece almost to the letter."

Page 18 of the above-mentioned document reflects "CHARLES BIDIEN in an article in "Political Affairs," September, 1947, threw light on the Indonesian situation by revealing that the Indonesian Government was about two thirds Communist controlled. The sinister implication of this article, laying down Communist policy for Indonesia (1947) is the fact that a UN Commission, headed by FRANK PORTER GRAHAM (1948) appeared to have followed BIDIEN's recommendations almost to the letter."

*INSERT attached*  
Miscellaneous

Confidential informants who are familiar with some phases of Communist Party activities in the New York City area, advised in June, 1960, that they do not know MICHAEL KIRCHWEY CLARK, his parents, EVANS and FREDA KIRCHWEY CLARK, [REDACTED] LEWIS STILES GANNETT or FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, and possess no information concerning them.

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Records of the Board of Elections, Borough of Manhattan, New York, as checked on May 26, 1960, by IC [REDACTED] reflected that MICHAEL K. CLARK, 3 Claremont Avenue, New York, New York, when registering to vote in 1941, indicated a preference for the American Labor Party (ALP).

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The 1941 Signature Book reflected that MICHAEL K. CLARK, age 22, born in the United States, single, first registered to vote in 1941.

These records also reflected that FREDA K. CLARK, 3 Claremont Avenue, New York, New York, when registering to vote in 1940 and 1941, indicated a preference for the ALP. In 1937, FREDA K. CLARK, 3 Claremont Avenue, New York, New York, when registering to vote indicated a preference for the Socialist Party. There was no record of registration

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The January 14, 1949, issue of the "Charlotte News", a Charlotte, North Carolina, daily newspaper, carried an article quoting Dr. FRANK P. GRAHAM as saying he was always against Communism. This article reflected that Dr. GRAHAM was then President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Study and that he had been given a security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission.

New York T-12 advised in March 1949, that [redacted] District 29, Communist Party, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in speaking of Dr. FRANK PORTER GRAHAM, described Dr. GRAHAM as a former friend. [redacted] allegedly stated however, that since the war Dr. GRAHAM had taken a very snobbish attitude and had broken away from his wartime practice of supporting liberal movements. (S) (U)

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~~Dr. F. P. Graham~~

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